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## ABSTRACT

An elementary school English second language program in Caen (France) is described and evaluated. The program evolved from national policy initiatives to reintroduce modern foreign languages in the primary schools. The eventual National Experiment involved a selected number of schools in which a foreign language was to be taught. Data for this study were gathered in site visits to six schools, through interviews with eight teaching assistants and administrators and classroom observation of 16 lessons. The report offers background on the project, describes the study's methodology, and details aspects of the project's design and implementation. The latter includes: organization of lessons; emphasis on language awareness rather than language teaching; instructional techniques and materials used; integration of the program curriculum with the elementary school curriculum; head teachers' views; links with secondary schools and their curriculum; overseas exchanges; parent and pupil attitudes; and the views of teaching assistants. Comments are made on three program aspects: organization; classroom teaching techniques; and role of the teaching assistants. Based on findings concerning this program and another in England, remarks are made on three key issues: use of foreign language assistants untrained in teaching techniques and strategies, political and cultural dimensions of such a project; and the need for a more clearly defined and coherent syllabus. (MSE)

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## CENTRE FOR LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

OCCASIONAL PAPERS, 16

## THE CAEN PRIMARY SCHOOL FOREIGN LANGUAGE PROJECT

Michael Grenfell

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## The Caen Primary School Foreign Language Learning Project

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## Contents

1. Background to the Study
2. Primary School Foreign Language Teaching
3. Caen: Background to the Project
4. Methodology
5. Selection, Induction and Organisation of Assistants
6. The Project in Practice
7. Further Comments
8. Concluding Remarks

Afterword

References

## 1. Background to the Study

The background to this study on the Caen English Language Learning project lies in a similar project in Basingstoke, England. This latter commenced in 1989, and involved the teaching of three languages - French, German and Spanish - to primary children in a pyramid group of schools feeding a single secondary school. The project was evaluated during the 1990 - 91 academic year and a final report on it was published soon afterwards (Mitchell, Martin and Grenfell 1992). During the final stages of the evaluation, the research team learnt of the project in Caen. The two projects are not identical, and there are many differences both in policy and practice between them. For example, three languages are involved in Basingstoke, whilst only English is taught in the Caen project. Moreover, all primary school pupils learn languages in Basingstoke, whilst Caen concentrates on the last two years before entry into secondary school. Furthermore, not all primary schools feeding a single secondary school may be receiving English teaching in Caen, whereas in Basingstoke this is the case. However, the two projects do share one key feature: the use of Foreign Language Assistants (FLAs) in primary school language teaching. In the light of consideration of this, the research team at Southampton University decided to pursue the possibility of procuring funding to undertake a follow-up study of the project in Caen. The Basingstoke evaluation was extensive, involving a part-time research assistant and regular monitoring of the workings and practice of language teaching over a one year period. Clearly, it was not possible to undertake a similar study in Caen. Nevertheless, the Basingstoke evaluation gave rise to a number of relevant issues, comments and recommendations. It was not appropriate to simply apply these as evaluation criteria in another case, but it did mean that previous work enabled a more informed start to be made in a neighbouring project. The present report is therefore indebted to the work carried out in Basingstoke, and acknowledges it as a source of reference and reflection. A systematic comparative study has not been undertaken here, but will form the content of a future paper. Nevertheless, reference to the two projects will be made; firstly, where this helps to elucidate a particular point and secondly, in the concluding sections of the report where some overview is given of the use of FLAs in primary language learning.

## 2. Primary School Foreign Language Teaching

In the introductory section of the Basingstoke evaluation report the authors set out the recent history of modern foreign language teaching in primary schools in the U.K. Briefly, this was centred on the Nuffield French project of the 1960s in England and Wales, which was largely abandoned in the 1970s and 80s; with a revival of interest, especially in Scotland, in recent years (For example, Cross 1992, Hood 1993). A key document both in the fading and renewed commitment to foreign language teaching in primary schools in the U.K. has been the research carried out on the Nuffield project by the National Foundation for Educational Research (Burstall et al., 1974). The report concluded that it was not possible to identify increased attainment in linguistic competence at age 15 for those pupils who had taken part in the project over and above those who had started languages 'normally' at the beginning of secondary school. Success was a key factor, and early success proved to be highly motivating. Similarly, lack of success was highly demotivating for subsequent learning. Of course, one key factor in the success or otherwise of primary school language learning was the quality of teaching, and the report found this to be often highly variable. The issues highlighted in the report are still pertinent: the structure of the primary school foreign language syllabus; its integration into the curriculum as a whole; the quality and design of teaching materials; the quality of teaching; the linguistic competence of teachers; teacher training; transfer from primary to secondary school.

The case for primary foreign language teaching is therefore not as yet proven. Nevertheless, it is a common belief that the younger children are, the more effective they will be in learning languages. Not only does the early start give more time for learning, but younger learners are less inhibited and more open to experimenting with language in a way that is considered central to the acquisition process. Moreover, this openness can be capitalised upon in fostering positive attitudes to foreign cultures and their languages. The authors (of whom the present author is one) of the Basingstoke project report state their position thus:

As evaluators of a particular primary school initiative, who have followed these debates, successes and failures over a number of years, we feel we should make our own basic views on the 'age' question clear. Firstly, a note of caution: we do not feel that it has been shown beyond doubt by previous research that younger FL learners are more effective than older learners, hour for hour (with the possible exception of FL pronunciation). On the other hand, we do feel that the investment of more hours, through an earlier start, has at least the potential to raise general levels of achievement, provided that issues of continuity and progression are properly addressed; and we also believe that positive encounters with FLs and their speakers as a regular part of young children's experience are an

important element in founding lasting positive attitudes to other languages, cultures and the language learning process.

(Mitchell et. al. 1992: 4)

This statement applies equally to the Caen project, and it was within this spirit of sympathy for the learning of languages at this level that the research was undertaken. It is hoped that the content of the report will further the exploration of a number of organisational and pedagogic issues, and provide further information for the current debate on the feasibility of foreign language learning at this level. A good deal of education can be described as the art of the possible rather than the implementation of the ideal. In this respect, it is not intended to be prescriptive or judgemental, but to clarify what may be possible and the consequences of the less than desirable.

### 3. Caen : Background to the Project

#### 1) The National Experiment

It is impossible to fully understand the project in Caen without also understanding something of its organisational background and administrative context. There are detailed and complex links between the various levels of state management and local government, details of which would be unhelpful to set out here. What follows are only the essential features of these structures, along with detail of how the project came about and the significance of the various parties' involvement.

France is a large country with a tradition of administrative centralisation and strict hierarchy. It is divided into a number of régions, which are in turn divided into départements. Caen is the capital of the region Basse-Normandie, which is divided into the three departments of Manche, Orne and Calvados. Both at departmental and regional level there are the representative bodies of state and local government.

The tradition of national state centralisation applies equally to education. Policy is set centrally by the government and, in turn, the Ministry of Education. The policy is applied and inspected at a regional level by the Rectorat and at a departmental level by the Académie. These two bodies are concerned with the implementation of the nationally designed curriculum. The days are now passed when a French minister of education could look at the clock at a certain time of the day and know exactly what was being taught in every school in France, but this spirit of central control continues. National programmes of study are readily published and available to parents, who buy them to know the detail content of their children's learning. This tradition applies to the recruitment of teachers. Teachers in France are employed by the state once they pass the required examinations and can be posted to wherever schools need them. They regard themselves as fonctionnaires, civil servants, answerable to the state representatives for what they teach and how. In this environment, a national curriculum is often regarded as protection of rights against local vested interests. Money for salaries and material resources pass down to the Academies and Rectorats, who employ and pay teachers, coordinate teaching programmes and the number of teachers required in any one school to deliver, and, ultimately, inspect them. Local county councils are also elected in France, but these will have little or no responsibility for what is taught in their schools, although they are concerned with the material upkeep of the buildings and such matters. This latter is administered by the local town hall, or Mairie.

The background to the project in Caen included a national policy to reintroduce modern foreign languages (langues vivantes) in primary schools (reviewed by Favard 1993). An announcement was made somewhat out of the blue by the Minister of Education a few months before the national general elections in France in 1988. It was a policy innovation that immediately caught the public

imagination: the progress and developments of European union along with the approaching free market of 1992 all created a spirit of national openness to international contact and thus the need to communicate with neighbouring foreign nationals. The eventual National Experiment involved a selected number of schools in which a foreign language was to be taught. Mostly this language was English, although there were also local experiments in the teaching of German, Spanish and Portuguese. This national project started in 1989 and was to run for three years during which time it would be controlled and inspected by the Academies. The actual teaching was undertaken by a mixture of primary teachers qualified to teach languages and secondary school teachers brought in for a number of hours primary school teaching each week.

The whole project was clearly developmental, and regular updates on the success or otherwise of the project, the aims of the project and the eventual conclusions of the experiment were made available to teachers through a number of circulars from the Ministry of Education. The final outcome of the experiment in 1992 was a commitment that indeed primary school children should learn a modern foreign language for the two years preceding transfer to secondary school, but that this should be done by primary school teachers trained to teach foreign languages. However, it was recognised that this was very much a long term project and would take some ten years to implement. In the meanwhile, teaching would continue on the ad hoc basis of the experimental period.

## ii) Caen

Certain schools in Caen took part in the national experiment. The pupils of one secondary school on the outskirts have all received English language teaching in their primary schools. This school was chosen for the socio-economic heterogeneity of its intake. In this case, the primary school teaching was mainly delivered by teachers from the secondary school; and the whole was locally coordinated and evaluated by the Academie.

The unusual aspect of the project involving the use of Foreign Language Assistants, which is the subject of this report, is that it was instigated by the local Mairie or Town Hall. Clearly, in a town the size of Caen, local government is extensive. The Mayor is leader of the county council and also has under him a team of Maire-Adjoints, each with a specific brief or responsibility for promoting a particular aspect of local government. One such individual is in charge of international relations and contacts. Active twinning arrangements include Nashville and Alexandria in the USA and Portsmouth in England, along with a number of less formal link with various groups, individuals and international organisations. The Caen project started in 1990, one year after the official experiment had commenced, and was financed from funds donated by the Mairie. It involves the recruitment of foreign nationals to teach English in a small number of primary schools in Caen not previously involved in the national experiment. It was partly inspired by the national initiative and

partly by existing twinning arrangements which had already resulted in some students teaching English in certain schools in the Basse-Normandie area.

Primary school foreign language teaching in Caen therefore has been occurring from at least three sources:

- 1) The National Experiment.
- 2) The Town Hall Project.
- 3) The twinning committees' traditional schemes based on linked communes.

Alongside this, local districts also have the option to decide to pay for extra language lessons in schools, or at least offer it to parents for their children on a fee paying basis.

#### 4. Methodology

The data for the present report was gathered on three visits to Caen from the spring 1992 to spring 1993. This allowed a reconnaissance trip during which initial contacts were made, assistants interviewed and the local context studied. Interview questions for pupils, headteachers and assistants were drafted following this initial visit. Further visits were then made in the 1991 - 92 academic year and the spring 1993. This meant that the main body of data was gathered over two successive years of the project. Leaving the visits to the second half of the academic year enabled interviews to be carried out with those involved after they had had reasonable experience of the year. This avoided gathering data at times when assistants were still settling in, and thus collecting information which may have given false impressions.

The innovator of the project and his assistant were interviewed, along with representatives from the local Academie and inspectorate. Subsequent discussions and interviews were also carried out with the coordinators 'on the ground'. Information provided here helped to create a picture of the background to the project and details of its implementation. It also raised various issues pertaining to the aims and objectives of the project.

Some six schools involved in the project were visited during the data gathering period and eight different headteachers interviewed. This provided information on the perceived success or otherwise of the project according to the schools involved. Efforts were made to enquire into the class teachers' views on the project, but none were interviewed. Information on this then came second hand from the headteachers.

Eight assistants were interviewed. This represents about three quarters of those involved throughout this period. It was not possible to contact all the assistants as some were unavailable for various reasons such as absence for examinations or participation on exchange trips. The assistants were interviewed about the aims and objectives of the project, their induction and training, experiences, and the coordination of their work.

Sixteen lessons were observed with assistants teaching classes; interviews with assistants taking place after observations. It was possible to interview pupils for approximately half of these lessons. This provided information on the conduct of lessons, what was taught and how, and the pupils' response to their English lessons.

Data was therefore gathered by directly recorded interview and classroom observation notes. Recordings were later transcribed and used as the basis of working texts for systematic analysis. Observation notes were similarly examined and characterising points listed. These documents have been used in the following sections which attempt to create a picture of the organisation and implementation of the project in practice. Throughout the

analysis three key issues have formed a major focus :

- 1) The experience of English language teaching for the primary school pupils involved in the project.
- 2) The use of foreign language assistants as teachers.
- 3) How organisational issues help or impede the success or otherwise of the project.

The account given below is arranged so as to address these issues through the various points emerging from analysis of the data. It gives an account of what was observed and what was said before further commenting on the effect of what has occurred in the project. Finally, some recommendations will be made concerning the three issues listed above.

## 5. Selection, Induction and Organisation of Assistants

### i) Selection and recruitment of assistants.

It is important to bear in mind the fact that, in its initial years, the project has been undergoing a process of development. Various factors have changed from one year to the next. For example, in its first year proper, the project organisers drew heavily on twinning links to involve young people who had just completed their A-levels in the U.K., as well as contacts in the USA. It was subsequently felt that these assistants were generally too young to perform the full role that is envisaged for the teaching post. Out of 10 assistants, whose ages ranged from 18 - 20, three had left by Christmas of that year due to the demands of the job and failure to appreciate what would be expected of them.

In the second year of the project, which was the first year of the present research, six students were involved from Southampton, Portsmouth and the USA. On average these students were teaching for approximately 8 - 10 hours/week in primary schools; hours were evened out by including adult evening classes and/or clerical responsibilities at the town hall. In order to keep the costs down salaries were modest (1,500 FF per month approx.), although special arrangements were made for 'free' board and lodgings through local contacts at the town hall, in return for which assistants were expected to help in the house and/or provide some English conversation. None of the students recruited during this year had primary school teaching experience, and indeed there was little previous involvement with teaching at all. Where some teaching experience had been had, this was usually limited to summer schools and youth camps. Furthermore, not all student-assistants had good or even passable levels of French. A result of problems encountered as a result led to much stricter criteria for recruitment being applied in the 1992 - 93 academic year. Those recruited were required to have a bachelors degree, a good level of French and have spent some time abroad. In order to make more funds available to assistants, and thus provide independence from 'free' accommodation, salaries were increased along with the number of hours teaching time. An assistant might now earn 3,500 FF per month for 18 hour per week teaching time, which would be supplemented with 3 - 6 hours adult teaching or clerical work at the town hall.

### ii) Organisation

Allocation of FLAs to schools was worked out between the headteachers involved and the town hall at some time during the assistants induction period prior to their commencing teaching at the beginning of October. Involvement in the project as a whole is arranged between individual schools and the town hall by invitation and the school's willingness to participate in the project. After allocation and confirmation of timetables, the town hall pays the assistants and deals with their organisational concerns. It also sets aside a small budget for them to use on

materials and makes photocopying facilities available. The actual pedagogic support is taken on by the Academie. The local Inspecteur d'Academie, who is in fact an active teacher taken out of lessons for a period each week, is involved in the induction process of assistants and offers periodic support in the form of visits to schools. Two other secondary school teachers share in the coordination and support of students by contributing to induction, visiting and generally being available in a pastoral role. Neither the inspector nor the coordinators take on these roles exclusively for the project but as part of a general involvement in the development of primary language learning, including the Caen project, the national experiment and exchanges involving the twinning committees. Most students interviewed had been visited at least once a term and knew the contact points should they require help. It is to note, however, that by tradition the town hall's involvement stops at recruiting, paying and allocating assistants, and the actual pedagogic support is provided without specific extra funding by the Academie.

On a day by day, week by week basis, assistants report to the headteachers of each of their allotted schools, although this does not involve formal or written accounts of what they do or intend to do.

### iii) Assistants' induction.

The period for induction had varied from one week to one month, depending both on what the town hall was able to provide and the availability of students. Clearly, time was taken for student-assistants to settle in and fulfil the various administrative requirements involved with a stay in France. Besides this, there were talks on the administrative structure of French national education. The inspector and coordinator also took a day to deal with issues concerning the teaching of modern foreign languages. Later on in the term, approximately one month after starting teaching, students attended a three day course for all teachers of languages in primary schools. This course included general discussions on the psychology of learning, practical sessions and updates on the findings from evaluations of the national experiment.

## 6. The Project in Practice

In this section I want to deal with various aspects, both principled and practical, of the project as it operates. Mostly, I shall try to keep this descriptive leaving further comments for the following section.

### i) Organising the Pupils' Lessons

The project organisers along with the headteachers, have decided to restrict English language teaching to pupils in the last two years of primary education - ages 9 - 11. This decision mirrors that of the national experiment. The norm is therefore that pupils should receive two years English language teaching before transfer to secondary school. This may be restricted to only one year where a pupils may move from another area and thus transfer from a school not providing English language lessons. Some pupils may have more than two years language teaching if they are held back a year during this final primary school period in the French system of redoublement.

Schools are allotted periods of the assistants' time each week. In all schools visited this was sufficient to cover the language teaching of the pupils involved. In one school visited there was a surplus of assistant time. English lessons had therefore been extended to pupils from age 7. The norm was for pupils to be withdrawn from lessons in groups ranging from 10 to 15, representing approximately half of the class. Another room was then provided for the pupils to be taught by the assistant, whilst the rest of the class continued with their normal teacher. Clearly, the rationale in working with half-size groups is to make them more manageable for assistants and allow for more individual contact between pupil and teacher. The mean time for each session with a group of pupils was 45 minutes, although there was considerable variation reported ranging from 30 mins. (considered too short) and 1 hour (considered too long). The norm was for pupils to be taught by the assistant twice each week, although there were instances where various factors permitted only one meeting.

### ii) Language Teaching or Language Awareness?

At this point in the report it is important to consider the aims and objectives of these primary school language projects in France. Both in the national experiment and the Caen project, the notion of 'sensibilisation' or 'initiation à la langue' has had wide currency in the past. This partly originates in the desire to avoid the traditional approach of language teaching seen as common in secondary schools; namely, grammar learning, vocabulary tests, etc. It has been recognised that this style of teaching and learning is not appropriate for primary school pupils; particularly as a major objective to the projects is to instill confidence and positive attitudes to foreign cultures and their

languages. 'Sensibilisation' is a much less rigorous notion than 'apprentissage'. The latter implies a formal structure to learning, clear programmes of study with stated objectives of progression. The former is broader, deals with language in a global non-specific way and lays the emphasis as much on country and culture as language. It includes explicit familiarisation with the customs and habits of a country, and language is 'taught' through activities such as song, rhymes and story. In many ways, this style of teaching seems to accord with the more open, activity based learning characteristic of primary school education. These broad principles were hence adopted in the original experiments in primary school language learning in France. Progressively, however, there has been a move towards more formal teaching. Ministry of Education circulars have criticised the lack of clear objectives in the 'sensibilisation' approach for a vagueness which it sees as difficult to organise learning around or to evaluate. Moreover, even if 'sensibilisation' does succeed, the Ministry Inspectorate note that such raised language consciousness will fade unless followed up with a more rigorous programme of methodical learning at the appropriate time. At the same time, the ministry does want to avoid the excesses of traditional language learning, and essentially wants to base teaching on the 'méthode ludique', or activity work, that is seen as suitable for these age groups. It therefore advocates short lessons, no more than 45 mins., comprising of brief 10 minute activities. However, activity based learning is not to be seen as an end in itself, but should include a very definite linguistic input:

The structuring of language learning, which differentiates itself from a simple 'sensibilisation, mainly lies in the integration of different activities of a sequence into a coherent project and their links with successive stage of linguistic assimilation: memorisation stage, guided repetition and application of the model into other contexts.

(Ministry of Education Circular 1992: 4)

Clearly, a balance is to be struck, but the Ministry is definite that the only way to measure the effects of the primary school projects is by assessing linguistic performance. What this means in effect is a fairly rigorous list of language skills expressed as competencies, notions and functions to be acquired, strategies to be used, etc.

### iii) Teaching and Materials

It must be stated that the views expressed in the previous sections have only come to light during the course of the national experiment. Moreover, the Caen project has its own particular character, originating as it does in cultural links and social objectives. Nevertheless, the 'sensibilisation' notion was the common principle expressed by both headteachers and assistants in explaining the aims of the project. Most assistants did not therefore follow a programme of study, but rather chose

to invent a sequence of work as they deemed it appropriate. The lessons observed included a wide range of possible activities; song, story, drawing, conversation, games, etc. Most assistants kept their own personal records of the language items they had covered, which included numbers, colours, days and months, clothes, shopping items, along with related functional phrases such as questioning, expressing desires, ordering, social interactions, etc. It was rare to find systematic methodology in teaching these, but rather assistants proceeded by a mixture of presentation, explanation in French, translation and illustration. Most assistants chose to produce their own materials, or to simply work from the blackboard. A coursebook (Stepping Stones by Julie Ashworth and John Clark, 1989) was available in some schools and seemed to be used sporadically. The view was certainly expressed that the best of previous assistants' work had come about where they had used the book as a basic resource and supplemented it with home-produced materials. This was born out from the lessons observed. The most impressive were structured with a clear integration of activities that varied in the way suggested by the ministry. Aural and visual materials were used and pupils responded orally and physically to linguistic stimuli. The less impressive had pupils copying and drawing from the board, colouring and mimicking very basic phrases. It was evident to the present writer that pupils of this age and ability needed close attention and very clear direction in what they were doing in sessions, and that this was an extremely demanding task for relatively inexperienced assistants. Some assistants had become involved in Physical Education lessons. This presented an excellent opportunity to combine physical movement and play with language. At its best, such integrated sessions did occur, although there were also incidents where sessions degenerated into simply 'playing games' with little or no linguistic component.

#### iv) Integration with the Primary School Curriculum

As described above, the principle underlying the organisation of pupil sessions was essentially one of withdrawal from mainstream lessons. This meant that the assistants' contact with pupils' teachers, apart from social occasions such as coffee and lunch breaks, was restricted to occasions where support was needed to deal with a particular disciplinary problem. It was rare to find assistants with knowledge of what pupils were learning during the rest of their school week, although there was one case where an assistant had coordinated an art project, done a little geography with the pupils and worked on some basic maths. This required a good command of French on the part of the assistant; not only in working with pupils but liaising with their class teacher who did not speak English.

#### v) The Headteachers' Views

The Headteachers were canvassed on their views of the project, along with those of their teaching staff.

Organisationally, Headteachers liaised mainly with the Town Hall concerning the assistants and their work. There were annual review meetings, but contact between Headteachers apart from this was restricted to the informal and ad hoc. Assistants reported to Headteachers, but this also was informal and mainly verbal.

There was unanimous approval for the spirit of the project: headteachers agreed that English was important (although one did feel German to be more necessary); the pupils enjoyed the lessons; and they were happy to have young English and American nationals into their schools. There was concern expressed over two main issues: teaching methodology and discipline. Central to both of these was the question of the linguistic competence of assistants. A small minority of assistants in the past had no French at all. This had caused problems in communicating and organising them, and, once they were in class, with pupils taking advantage of this. Of course, assistants' French improved throughout the year and all had succeeded in continuing classes with pupils, but some children had had to be withdrawn from lessons for behavioral reasons. One Headteacher linked the questions of discipline and assistants' linguistic competence with the notion of 'sensibilisation'. In his opinion, the combination of these factors resulted in sessions never really being regarded as 'real teaching'. Because the 'teacher' comes in as an outsider and English is not taught and assessed as other subjects, pupils do not act as pupils but treat it as fun and recreation. These points are connected with the second concern; methodology. From the above sections, it is evident that the aims and objectives of primary school language learning have been in a developmental state during recent years of the various experiments in the area. Conclusions drawn from these suggest a subtle mixture of techniques and approaches to teaching foreign language at this level. Clearly, most Headteachers did not feel that assistants had the time or training to develop these skills. Many were quite happy that pupils should be taught by the assistants, but none felt that an optimal level of effectiveness had yet been achieved. Many noted that the best pupils had indeed shown progress in attitude to and learning of English. However, when various factors combined - assistants' lack of linguistic competence, discipline of pupils and teaching methodology - the most difficult pupils' behaviour and learning quickly deteriorated. Essentially, Headteachers reported that these views were shared by their teaching staff.

#### vi) Links with Secondary Schools

The long term aim of the National Experiment is that all pupils feeding into a particular secondary school should have studied a modern foreign language for at least two years. This has not yet been achieved, and neither does the Caen project purport to do it. There seem to be no formal liaison between primary and secondary schools on matters concerning modern foreign languages. This clearly raises the question of continuity and progression between the two levels of education. In the case of Caen, one group of students from the project had entered secondary school during the period of the project. Verbal reports suggest that secondary school teachers treat all pupils equally in initiating them in modern foreign language teaching, assuming the usual mixture of previous experiences and thus nascent levels of competence. In other words, the national programme for foreign language learning in secondary school is applied irrespective of previous learning. A mixture of ad hoc reports were received from Headteachers. Some reported negligible differences in attitudes and achievement, although there was variation from teacher to teacher, suggesting that the way pupils were taught was a significant factor in determining the differences they showed. One secondary school teacher had reported less anxiety with pupils when starting English language lessons, and another felt that progress through the programme was accelerated with those pupils coming from the project schools. However, these are merely a few primary impressions in an area that is crucial to the ultimate success or otherwise of the project.

#### vii) Exchanges

The majority of schools visited had taken part in exchanges which predated their involvement with the project. These exchanges were mainly with primary schools in the Portsmouth region. The format varied substantially from school to school and from year to year, although the norm seemed to be short visits of 2 - 4 days rather than sustained stays. Similarly, actual accommodation in host families was restricted to a night or two, the rest of the time being taken up with lodgings in holiday dormitories, for example in the New Forest. A great deal of enthusiasm was expressed for these exchanges on the part of the Headteachers. They were seen as a 'taster' of England, a good way to put pupils in contact with each other, and a learning experience for all concerned. These exchanges were perceived as being mainly successful. The combination of trip and host accommodation was considered to be optimal; for allowing pupil involvement with the reality of English life without putting too much pressure on them to cope. Forest camps invariably involved English exchange partners as well, which was seen as a good way of providing an environment for both sets of pupils to interact with each other. There were claims that the whole experience raised awareness and interest for things English, and pupils returned to France convinced of the necessity of learning the language. Indeed, one Headteacher thought that this had more effect on attitudes and motivation than the English language lessons at school. The exchange also

provided opportunities for correspondence before and following visits, with which the assistants helped. On two occasions, assistants had accompanied the groups to England; partly to act as courier and partly to prepare and follow up language and cultural points in lessons.

#### viii) Parents and Pupils Views

No formal contact was made with parents during the period of the present research. Information on their perception of the project therefore came from the Headteachers. It was clear that the latter were sensitive to the public relations aspect of the project. Modern foreign languages in general, and English in particular, had a high currency and status for parents who responded most positively to the project. This was a crucial factor in Headteachers' continual acceptance of involvement in the project. As previously stated, in schools that were not taking part in any of the language learning experiments, local districts had organised private lessons to be taken in schools during lunch hours or at the end of the day. Those Headteachers who referred to parents, expressed the opinion that fine distinctions between 'sensibilisation' and 'apprentissage' were not really appreciated by the vast majority of parents. It was enough that their children were 'learning' languages.

Systematic questionnaires were not used in canvassing pupils opinions. Rather semi-structured interview techniques were employed with groups of pupils from each class. There was near unanimous agreement on the positive enjoyable experience of working with the assistants. The predominant view was that English was difficult, and some individual pupils were able to give examples, such as compound tenses and peculiarities of pronunciation. Generally, speaking the pupils seemed to be very 'English language aware'. Caen is an international ferry port with a recent history as a key position in second world war battles. The town has a number of monuments to this as well as two war museum that attract large groups of English and American ex-soldiers throughout the year. It is also a large university town, as well as being a centre for various international companies. It is therefore unsurprising to find English so evident in the town. Pupils were aware of much of this and were able to give lots of examples of 'franglais', such as le cornflakes, le parking, etc. They reported coming across English in music, on television (especially cartoons), food wrappers and hearing it 'in the street'. A very small minority had English comics or books given to them by parents or relations, and, in one case, an English language learning cassette. Most noted that their normal class teachers did not pick up on what had been covered in the English sessions, although there were a few reports of teachers giving the date in both languages or referring to the odd piece of vocabulary as a point of translation. Most pupils took a certain amount of pride in recounting the topics they had covered; and the best kept detailed exercise books of English words along with illustrations. One group was interviewed in the spring of 1992

and in 1993. Their enthusiasm over the year did not seem to have diminished and they were quite adamant about the progress they had made, although this was not apparent in linguistic terms to the present writer. Many reported that they did indeed discuss what they had learnt in language lessons with their parents, who, in some cases, actively participated in referring to English in the home.

#### ix) The Assistants' Views

Most of the assistants interviewed had found their involvement on the project to be a positive learning experience. They all enjoyed working with the pupils and felt these had generally made progress. That being said, the assistants were aware of the lack of clarity in the objectives of the project. Most were aware of the sensibilisation/apprentissage distinction, and understood the accent should be away from formal teaching and concentrate more on activity based learning. One assistant stated quite categorically that there were different expectations coming from schools, the town hall, the Inspection d'Academie, the individual teachers and the assistants themselves. In this case, the job in hand became a careful balancing of all of these. Another spoke of his realisation that his main task was to change attitudes, to make pupils enthusiastic about learning. In his case, he felt that he did not mind what words pupils learnt, so long as they applied themselves positively. These two comments were rare in their sophistication into understanding the project. Both came from assistants with excellent competence in French. All assistants spoke of the strain of discipline problems with pupils. American assistants in particular spoke of a different pupil ethos. Where assistants' French had been weak, or very weak, there had been considerable discipline problems which had resulted in pupils being withdrawn from lessons, and, in one case, the school terminating involvement with the project. Many students commented on their own lack of preparation for the teaching. Details of the project had not been sent to them beforehand, which had resulted in numerous points being overlooked. Some had understood the rubric of 'Assistant de Maître' as helping a full time teacher who took the responsibility for the programme, what was taught and how. These assistants were shocked to find themselves with their own 'classes' and sole responsibility for what was taught. Some had brought materials from their home countries, but most were unaware of the budget for purchasing teaching resources. Photocopying was used sporadically, but the most commonly used resource was the published textbook. Most felt that their initial training had not been sufficient, which, on matters concerned with actual lesson planning amounted to little more than one day in some cases. This lack of guidance in teaching method was compounded by a generally perceived view that they were not monitored, but rather left to their own devices. For example, they were not required to supply any formal reports on pupils or what they had covered in lessons. Each year, therefore, the new group of assistants did not have a record of what had been covered by previous assistants.

## 7. Further Comments and Developments

In the last section I attempted to describe the project as it was explained to me and report on what I had observed and the views that were expressed. In this section, I want to broaden the discussion to comment further on three aspects of the project; namely, Organisation, Teaching and the Assistants. The views expressed here arise from analysis of and reflection on the data.

### i) Organisation

It is clear from the description I have given that the organisation of the project is complicated and involves a number of bodies and individuals. Generally speaking, much effort and goodwill had been put in by those involved to make the project work. However, such a spread of responsibilities leaves a general lack of focus in maintaining the smooth functioning of the project. This was especially true in light of the fact that various aspects of the project, teaching, timetables, FLAs' accommodation, etc. were the responsibility of different individuals. Communications between the Town Hall, families hosting assistants, the Academie, FLAs, the schools and the coordinator, given the spread of locale and the time available for the project, are likely to be less than ideal. This was confirmed by views expressed to me. The different timetables followed by the assistants often meant that they were not visited by the project coordinator; especially if the FLAs' timetable clashed with her own. This was not problematic where FLAs were experienced and coping with the teaching, but, if this was not the case, there was insufficient support and advice on how to remedy the situation. Sporadic visits, for example, one per term, were little more than token 'inspections', with no real possibility of following up on teaching and organisational points raised. In such a situation, it is possible that FLAs feel quite isolated and left alone to cope. This was the case for some individuals.

### ii) Teaching

Primary school language learning is clearly a developing field. It is not yet clear precisely what should be taught and how (although there are various reports and suggestions: for example, Surrey 1993 and the Scottish Office 1992). Various ministry reports in France over the duration of the national experiment demonstrate that there has been a conscious move from 'language awareness' to stricter teaching, but the change of emphasis has been gradual, subtle, and it is not always clear that practising teachers can instantly adapt what they are doing. There seem to be two clear intents in teaching foreign languages at this age: firstly, to avoid the overt grammar teaching that is traditionally characteristic of secondary school teaching; and secondly, to base work on activity and experiential learning that is more the norm in primary schools. This is clearly a subtle balance to hold in designing classroom activities (for example,

Curtain 1993). The best of the lessons I observed did achieve this, although there were also incidents of aimless, poorly structured lessons. The best work was done by a FLA who had decided to take a second year to live and work in Caen. Experience, and indeed a more ideal school setting, had enabled her to develop her teaching skills and to strike a good balance between activity and structured learning. She also used the 'Stepping Stones' book: not systematically, but as a jumping off point and/ or a backup to her own exercises. The use of some sort of textbook would seem to be necessary in providing structural support for both the pupils and FLAs in language lessons. It is probably easier to err on the side of systematic teaching and then inject periods of activity and experiential work into lessons than start with the latter and then try to pull out the various structural points. Such an approach requires a good deal of experience on the part of the teacher, and such is not the case with the FLAs in this project. In either case, FLAs need ongoing support and reviews of their lessons. Without this, the method of learning-on-the-job is taken to an extreme; a situation that is not beneficial to either FLAs or pupils.

No formal assessment has been used in this project, and it is certainly inappropriate to imagine conducting systematic tests to chart progress. Nevertheless, where reporting has existed, it has involved FLAs keeping personal logs of the material covered and comments on individual pupils. It would be helpful if these were formalised and periodically reviewed by the project coordinator. This would give clearer information on the progress made by the pupils and the material covered. Such a system would also be helpful in transferring from one year to the next with the consequent change in FLA. The new FLA would benefit from such information by knowing what to revise and what needs to be taught anew.

Both in teaching activities and assessment, more structure would also help pupils perceive what they are doing and why, and the progress they are making.

### iii) Assistants

Most of the comments in this report have concerned organisation and the actual project in practice. In this section I want to comment on the FLAs themselves.

The prospect of having the opportunity to spend a year in France is clearly an attractive one. Most students of foreign languages do this as an integral part of their first degree course through a reciprocal arrangement with the relevant countries. The norm here is to work in a secondary school or sixth form college and to provide conversation lessons. The FLAs involved in the Caen project have differed in a number of respects. Firstly, they have not always been language students. Secondly, they have been expected to teach actual groups of students rather than simply provide conversation. Thirdly, their remuneration has differed from that of 'normal' FLAs. The arrangement of providing board

and lodgings free on top of a modest salary is a good one, and can be very successful. Some FLAs were virtually 'adopted' by their families and became regular participants in daily routines and outings. However, there were also incidents of misunderstandings between FLAs and their families, where the latter were expecting 'au pair' type support. Clear statements of what is expected are obviously crucial for all concerned. There is a paradox. Younger FLAs settled into these arrangements more easily but then did not really have the experience or maturity to cope with the teaching. Older FLAs were more successful with pupils but then sought more independence and their own life. This was not sustainable at the salary levels offered, and so, in order to pursue the aim of greater freedom some assistants took on extra teaching. The organisation of the project also responded by attempting, during the 1992-93 academic year, to recruit more mature FLAs, and to pay them more for longer hours of teaching. Teaching contact time of 20 hours plus, however, is extremely demanding for relatively inexperienced teachers. It is necessary to take into consideration actual experience of FLAs and what they gain from the year abroad. This has always been rather hit or miss, and depends greatly on what individuals make of it (Similar issues discussed by Byram and Alred 1992). The project FLAs seemed mostly to have enjoyed and benefited from their time in Caen, although there were incidents of strain and disappointment resulting from too much teaching where this was the case. Clearly, it is a question of balance concerning what is possible with the funds available, but there is a fine judgement to be made about how much the FLAs should be allowed to take on given their experience and the level of support they have in actual teaching.

As reported above, the FLAs were unanimous in their accounts of working with pupils: even where extreme discipline problems had been experienced, FLAs remained generally positive about the classes they taught. Some clearly wanted more support in guiding them in their planning and preparation of lessons. A lack of clear focus on issues such as project objectives and progression had similar effects on the FLAs and the pupils, in terms of knowing what had been accomplished. It must also be noted that teaching the same thing over and over again to small groups of pupils can be quite tedious and intellectually undemanding. This can and did have a negative effect on motivation and subsequent effort in lesson planning.

## 8. Concluding Remarks

The following remarks are based on the research carried out in Caen and Basingstoke, and cover the key issues that have arisen from the two projects.

### i) The Use of FLAs in Primary School Foreign Language Learning

The Basingstoke Project evaluation concluded that, on the whole pupils formed positive experiences from working with young foreign nationals. Nothing from the research carried out in Caen suggests that French pupils differed in this respect. Pupils clearly enjoyed lessons, were enthusiastic about what they did and had established good relations with FLAs. It is therefore perfectly feasible to employ FLAs in the teaching of foreign language in primary school. Yet, it must also be asked if FLAs bring with them noticeable advantages over other possible sources of foreign language work; for example, the use of trained primary school teachers or peripatetic secondary school teachers. In purely pedagogic terms, it does not appear that the case has yet been proven for any distinct advantage of FLAs over these other type of teachers. Clearly, there is a good deal to be gained from having foreign nationals in schools, and pupils gain a considerable amount from the subsequent contact and cultural exchange, but it is perfectly possible to envisage FLA activities in schools that do not involve the withdrawal of pupils from mainstream lessons or the actual teaching of language. For example, FLAs might be involved in mainstream lessons to enhance European awareness within pupils' work, or to offer linguistic support to French teachers conducting lessons.

On the whole, it is demanding to ask FLAs who have not been teacher trained to assume sole responsibility for language lessons. The project organisers in Caen have in mind for the future the recruitment of primary trained language teachers seeking more time abroad. This would certainly be the ideal, but then anticipated remuneration would rise accordingly. As insufficient funds are available to finance this ideal, recourse has had to be made to inventive arrangements for balancing costs and FLA recruitment. This would be true of any project involving assistants, as financing is always likely to be a crucial determining factor in what can be offered.

As this investigation indicates, FLAs need considerable support in lesson planning and with issues of reporting and assessment. It is understandable that efforts are made to recruit the maximum number of students with the limited funds available, but it would be wise to make more funds available for teacher training and support, as the success or otherwise of FLA involvement depends on what occurs in the classroom. In an extreme case, it might be thought sufficient to bring pupils and FLAs together to interact. This is an essential component to the use of FLAs but is clearly insufficient on its own. Pedagogic organisation is also necessary if the maximum benefit is to be gained from the project.

## ii) Political and Cultural Dimensions

Both projects share one important aspect: the involvement of individuals not normally actively concerned with actual teaching in schools. Both were also very much the product of the vision of certain key individuals. The result of this is that a new spirit of creativity and imagination has been brought to an age-old issue; namely the teaching of foreign languages to primary school pupils. The involvement of individuals from the commercial and political world is to be welcomed as it brings with it fresh insights and also makes available networks of contacts and resources that have traditionally remained closed to schools. There are great benefits to be gained from establishing contacts at an international level and setting up exchanges of information and individuals between countries. Both projects have worked to establish a clear public profile and have gained extensive press coverage. Both have also organised 'cultural' and/or 'European' days to celebrate respective countries. The whole has certainly raised public consciousness of the significance of international links and the importance of languages. There are, then, certain pedagogically related invisibles arising from the projects that cannot be quantified in strict educational terms but no less enhance the status of foreign language learning.

## iii) Curriculum Matters

At the heart of both projects is the issue that, in France, has been expressed as 'sensibilisation v. apprentissage'. At different points in this report I have noted the developmental nature of this debate. Basingstoke committed itself from the outset to a 'language awareness' style of teaching. In Caen too there has been efforts to avoid 'direct' teaching, and, instead concentrate on pupils experiencing foreign language as an introduction to language learning proper. In principle, this emphasis make perfect sense; especially as a prime objective in both projects is to enhance pupils' motivation. However, as soon as this is accepted, there are a number of consequences to be addressed. Firstly, there is the question of progress and how it is to be monitored. Many authoritative participants certainly find the objectives of language awareness or 'sensibilisation' too vague and global; giving rise to situations where anything goes as long as it is in the foreign language. It is very difficult to assess exactly what pupils are getting from such lessons, other than the general impression of enhanced attitudes. Secondly, this imprecision raises questions of teacher training or FLA preparation. In other words, what are the FLAs to teach and how. Thirdly, and related to the previous two, is the question of continuity between primary and secondary school, or in what way the early introduction of foreign language learning will integrate and enhance what follows as generally systematic teaching of language. At the moment, this can again only seem to be expressed in attitudinal terms. A more clearly defined and coherent syllabus would therefore seem to be required. Such a programme might address the special nature and qualities of pupils at primary school age and suggest ways of integrating clear aims of continuity and progression within an attitudinally

based but non-overtly structured programme of study (for example, Hawkins 1987: 238 -246; Luc 1990).

## Afterword

As writer of this report I am aware of my own place in relation to the events I have observed and the information I have collected. Both reports, and in particular the present account of the Caen project, cover a wide range of issues and concerns: pedagogic, organisational, financial, cultural/political. The nature of my concerns and the content of my investigations have tended to concentrate on the pedagogic and organisational. The report appears at a time when primary school language learning is again becoming a prominent issue. It is likely that future years will see the appearance of a plethora of different schemes and models for language teaching at this age. In an early section in this report I referred to the balance to be struck between what is ideal and what is possible. Educational innovation will always take place against a background of limited resources and the conditions of the real world. I hope this report will add to a bringing about of what is possible within the real world, rather than be seen as negative comment on what has gone on and might have been if circumstances were otherwise. The project in Caen is developmental, and each year modifications and changes to both organisational and implementation of the project have come about. The use of FLAs at this level has been a novel experiment, and much insight on primary school foreign language learning has been provided by the project. The use of FLAs is certainly one option that provides a number of advantages that no other scheme can. It is hoped that both the Basingstoke and Caen projects continue to develop, grow and broaden the range of what is possible.

Michael Grenfell

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